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Resolution On Relations To The Conference For Progressive Political Action

(Adopted by the Socialist Party Convention at Cleveland, July 7, 1924).

The Convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action which has just concluded its work was the most significant gathering of American labor for common political action.

It represented about three million of organized workers, substantial sections of the working farmers, several independent progressive political organizations and the Socialist Party through its national and state committees. It adopted a progressive labor platform. It took an important step to cut loose from the old political parties by nominating an independent candidate for President of the United States. And finally, it issued a call for another convention to be held next January for the express purpose of taking action on a proposal to form a permanent independent political party for national and local elections upon a progressive and labor platform.

The main practical object of the Socialist Party is the organization of the workers into a political class party. With that supreme object in view the party has always encouraged and supported every genuine movement of labor towards independent politics. The Conference for Progressive Political Action was organized with the assistance of the Socialist Party and our party co-operated with it in its work and development.

The presidential campaign of the Conference for Progressive Political Action will develop into an insurgent political movement of labor. It will be sup-

ported by the advanced workers of the country. The Socialist Party takes its stand with these workers. During the four months to come the Socialists will have an unparalleled opportunity to work with the organized workers of this country, side by side, as comrades in a common cause.

Our co-operation with the forces of the Conference for Progressive Political Action has already resulted in much good, and during the campaign will, in our opinion, vastly facilitate the formation of a genuine labor party next January. The Socialist Party with its political training and experience, its clear social vision and ideal, and its devoted membership, will be called upon to give the new movement substance and direction, and to play in it a part as important as that which our sister party in England plays in the political labor movement of that country.

The integrity of the Socialist Party must be preserved, and its membership and activities increased not only for the good of the Socialist movement as such, but also for the character, growth and success of the political labor movement of the country.

Your committee therefore recommends:

1. That this convention concur in the endorsement by the Conference for Progressive Political Action of the candidacy of Senator Robert M. La Follette for President of the United States on the platform submitted by him.

The convention, however, specifically declares that the Socialist Party firmly adheres to the principles of Socialism as set forth in the Platforms and Declarations of Principles adopted at this and previous conventions of the Socialist Party.

2. That it authorize the incoming National Executive Committee in its discretion to endorse the candidate for Vice-President of the United States to be chosen by the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

3. That the Socialist Party request an increased representation on the enlarged National Committee of the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

4. That in the coming campaign the Socialist Party co-operate whole-heartedly with the Conference for Progressive Political Action in the national elections, and in all such state and local elections in which independent candidates are nominated with the co-operation of the state and local Socialist Party organizations.

5. That the Socialist Party send a full representation to the convention to be held in January, 1925, for the purpose of considering the formation of a permanent and independent new party and do everything in its power to make that convention as large, representative and successful as possible.

6. The representatives of the Socialist Party to the January convention of 1925 are hereby instructed to vote and work for the formation of a party composed of economic organizations of labor, working farmers, the Socialist Party, and other advanced groups; to be separate and distinct from and opposed to the Republican, Democratic, and other capitalist parties; with a complete national, state and local form of organization and upon a platform containing as a minimum the planks of the platform adopted by the convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action held in Cleveland, July, 1924.

PLATFORM OF THE CONFERENCE FOR PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL ACTION

(Adopted at Cleveland, July 5, 1924)

For 148 years the American people have been seeking to establish a government for the service of all and to prevent the establishment of a government for the mastery of the few. Free men of every generation must combat renewed efforts of organized force and greed to destroy liberty. Every generation must wage a new war for freedom against new forces that seek through new devices to enslave mankind.

Under our representative democracy the people protect their liberties through their public agents.

The test of public officials and public polities alike must be: Will they serve or will they exploit the common need?

The reactionary continues to put his faith in mastery for the solution of all problems. He seeks to have what he calls the strong men and best minds rule and impose their decisions upon the masses of their weaker brethren.

The progressive, on the contrary, contends for less autocracy and more democracy in government, for less power of privilege and greater obligations of service.

Under the principle of ruthless individualism and competition, that government is deemed best which offers to the few the greatest chance of individual gain.

Under the progressive principle of co-operation, that government is deemed best which offers to the

many the highest level of average happiness and well being.

It is our faith that we all go up or down together—that class gains are temporary delusions and that eternal laws of compensation make every man his brother's keeper.

Program of Public Service

In that faith we present our program of public service:

(1.) The use of the power of the federal government to crush private monopoly, not to foster it.

(2.) Unqualified enforcement of the constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech, press and assemblage.

(3.) Public ownership of the nation's water power and creation of a public super-power system. Strict public control and permanent conservation of all natural resources, including coal, iron and other ores, oil and timber lands in the interest of the people. Promotion of public works in times of business depression.

(4.) Retention of surtax on swollen incomes, restoration of the tax on excess profits, taxation of stock dividends, profits undistributed to evade taxes, rapidly progressive taxes on large estates and inheritances, and repeal of excessive tariff duties, especially on trust-controlled necessities of life and of nuisance taxes on consumption, to relieve the people

of the present unjust burden of taxation and compel those who profited by the war to pay their share of the war's costs, and to provide the funds for adjusted compensation solemnly pledged to the veterans of the World War.

(5.) Reconstruction of the federal reserve and federal farm loan systems to provide for direct public control of the nation's money and credit to make it available on fair terms to all, and national and state legislation to permit and promote co-operative banking.

(6.) Adequate laws to guarantee to farmers and industrial workers the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing for the maintenance or improvement of their standard of life.

(7.) Creation of a government marketing corporation to provide a direct route between farm producer and city consumer and to assure farmers fair prices for their products, and protect consumers from the profiteers in foodstuffs and other necessities of life. Legislation to control the meat-packing industry.

(8.) Protection and aid of cooperative enterprises by national and state legislation.

(9.) Common international action to effect the economic recovery of the world from the effects of the World War.

(10.) Repeal of the Cummins-Esch law. Public ownership of railroads, with democratic operation, and with definite safeguards against bureaucratic control.

(11.) Abolition of the tyranny and usurpation of the courts, including the practice of nullifying legislation in conflict with the political, social or economic theories of the judges. Abolition of injunctions in labor disputes and of the power to punish for contempt without trial by jury. Election of all

federal judges without party designation for limited terms.

For Child Labor Amendment

(12.) Prompt ratification of the child labor amendment and subsequent enactment of a federal law to protect children in industry. Removal of legal discriminations against women by measures not prejudicial to legislation necessary for the protection of women and for the advancement of social welfare.

(13.) A deep waterway from the great lakes to the sea.

(14.) We denounce the mercenary system of degraded foreign policy under recent administrations in the interests of financial imperialists, oil monopolists and international bankers, which has at times degraded our state department from its high service as a strong and kindly intermediary of defenseless governments to a trading outpost for those interests and concession seekers engaged in the exploitation of weaker nations, as contrary to the will of the American people, destructive of domestic development and provocative of war. We favor an active foreign policy to bring about a revision of the Versailles treaty in accordance with the terms of the armistice, and to promote firm treaty agreements with all nations to outlaw wars, abolish conscription, drastically reduce land, air and naval armaments and guarantee public referendum on peace and war.

In supporting this program we are applying to the needs of today the fundamental principles of American democracy, opposing equally the dictatorship of plutocracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We appeal to all Americans without regard to partisan affiliation and we raise the standards of our faith so that all of like purpose may rally and march in this campaign under the banners of progressive union.

The nation may grow rich in the vision of greed.
The nation will grow great in the vision of service.

Don't Miss This Opportunity to Secure a Lecture Date for

RYAN WALKER

Socialist Cartoonist and Creator of Henry Dubb, Who Will Speak on

"HENRY DUBB & HIS TEAPOT DOME"

Illustrating His Subject With Pictures Drawn While Talking
Entertainment and Effective Propaganda Combined!

Tour Will Begin In September - Twenty Applications Already Received Terms Very Reasonable - Apply for Date at Once to—

NATIONAL OFFICE SOCIALIST PARTY

2653 WASHINGTON BLVD., CHICAGO, ILL.

Delay May Mean Disappointment—ACT QUICKLY!



OUR OPPORTUNITY IS HERE!

An Address to the Members of the Socialist Party of America by the Cleveland National Convention

The Socialist Party has just held the largest, most successful and enthusiastic convention in years.

It gathered in the determination to take its rightful place beside the victorious Socialist and labor movement of England, France and other countries.

THE CONFERENCE OF JULY 4th

When the Socialist Party came to Cleveland it found, in the immense public hall of that city, the convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, consisting of more than a thousand delegates, representing millions of members of the great railroad, miners, needle trades and many other unions, organized farmers, the Socialist Party and kindred advanced groups.

It witnessed the adoption of a platform of forward-looking measures, the nomination of an independent presidential ticket and the acceptance of the proposal to hold a nation-wide convention in January, 1925, to consider organizing a large and permanent party of labor, Socialists and other progressive political forces opposed to the parties of exploitation.

HOW IT CAME TO BE

The circumstances which brought this forth are easy to understand.

As the Socialist Party had warned, the barbarous forces, unleashed by the war, opened a period of dark and extreme reaction. The predatory financial classes and their political agents holding office have sought ruthlessly to destroy the trade unions by the reckless use of injunctions, the open shop drive, and to crush the farmers by wiping out the value of their crops. They have engaged in a riot of corruption, crime and betrayal of trust of such mammoth proportions that its exposure has caused a veritable political earthquake. They have refused to assist whole-heartedly the stricken peoples of Europe to resume the production and exchange of goods in order to rebuild the shattered world. They have denied to the workers in our country a just return for their labor which would keep industry going.

LABOR'S AWAKENING

This flagrant capitalist misrule has at last awakened the masses in our country. The knowledge that similar evils had brought about the political or-

ganization of their fellow workers in other lands and their marked achievements since, especially the inspiration of the labor government in England, the Socialist government in Denmark, and of the recent elections in France and Australia, has aroused them to an attempt to secure the like benefits here.

For the Socialist Party there has been no purpose in all its years of effort but to stir the masses to this imperative necessity. For this reason it entered the Conference for Progressive Political Action at its beginning and heartily participated in its work.

The convention of this body has now been held. It was the first national, political outpouring of the toilers of America. While a labor party has not been formed in name, owing to the varying election laws of the several states and the lack of time before election, a party of labor is being realized in fact. The first great step has been taken. Relations with the capitalist parties have been broken. The rest will inevitably follow.

SOCIALIST PARTY ACTS

By an overwhelming vote of the convention of the Socialist Party, it was decided that our place is in this political revolt of the American workers. It is our duty to give it loyal and devoted service and the utmost co-operation.

It is likewise our duty to maintain the autonomy and integrity of the Socialist Party, and as an organized party to continue with renewed energy and in larger fields our mission of enlightenment and our struggle for the complete release of humanity from the thralldom of capitalism.

Comrades: We want new opportunities for service to the toilers of the nation. Our speakers, writers, organizers, executives and membership will be called upon to do their share in this inspiring struggle. To serve loyally means to earn their respect and confidence and to fulfill our own clearest aims.

The new activity will create fresh vigor in our party. Indifferent members will resume activity. Many who fell away because our past endeavors seemed to be fruitless will joyfully return. There will be a concrete and vital purpose in the work of the Socialist Party.

Out of this significant start, the workers of America may soon build up a labor party which will take its place beside the British Labor Party, and the similar parties throughout the world in that inter-

national brotherhood of labor which alone can make the new civilization.

OUR DUTY

The delegates to this convention of the Socialist Party have shown by their unmistakable decision that they are ready to grasp the wonderful possibilities of the situation.

At a banquet held during the convention the unprecedented sum of \$3,500 was spontaneously poured into the treasury of the party by the comparatively tiny fraction of the membership there, as an earnest of their abiding faith in the glorious future of the party.

From his sick room, our own Gene Debs sent to the convention this splendid sentiment:

"I hesitate at this distance to intrude upon your deliberations, especially as I have full faith in the loyalty and judgement of our delegates and shall willingly abide by the action of our convention. I

think it wise for our party to make no nominations under the circumstances, but at the same time to hold the Socialist Party intact, adhere rigidly to its principles and keep the red flag flying. I hope, above all, there will be no division, but that all will unite loyally in carrying out the program adopted by the convention. I need not assure you that my heart is with you. In this crisis, as in the past, the Socialist Party is the party of the working class and faces the future with absolute confidence and without fear."

Are you ready to do your share?

This is our supreme opportunity. Will each and every one of you contribute what you can to enable the Socialist Party to become more powerful than it has ever been?

Will each and every one of you work as never before in the service of labor and Socialism?

Labor in America is on the march! All together! Forward to victory!

A SUPPLEMENTARY WORD

By Eugene V. Debs

It is with real pleasure, no less than with a deep sense of its fervent spirit and its loyal devotion to the cause of the toiling and producing masses, that I applaud and give my unqualified approval to the eloquent and thrilling appeal of the "Address to the Members of the Socialist Party of America," issued by the Committee representing the National Convention of the Party held at Cleveland, which has just concluded its deliberations and adjourned, after completing its arduous labors, and so successfully meeting and overcoming the difficulties in the complicated situation that confronted it, as to arouse and inspire renewed hope and courage in the long and sorely-tried membership, and open the road and clear the way to a wider field of vital activity than our party has yet known.

The appeal made to the rank and file in behalf of the Cleveland Convention is a clarion call to duty that thrills like a trumpet-blast, and what member is so lost to the cause as to be insensible to its inspiration and significance?

I shall not attempt in this brief expression of my approval and appreciation of the splendid work accomplished by our delegates at Cleveland to enter into any analytical detail of the deliberations and proceedings which led to their final action in determining, by an overwhelming majority, to cast their lot with the Conference for Progressive Political Action, and make common cause with the progressive forces represented there, in the presidential campaign this very important year.

I have to confess frankly that with certain features of the convention of the Progressive elements and with certain actions in their proceedings, I could not possibly, under ordinary circumstances, find myself in agreement. To yield to the weakness and cowardice of expediency has always been repugnant to my nature, and especially so since I pledged my allegiance to the Socialist movement.

But the situation that confronted our delegates at Cleveland was anything but an ordinary one. It was indeed unprecedented and extraordinary in every sense of the term. The wisest and most far-seeing among us could not have forecasted such a peculiar and remarkable event in our industrial and political development, especially after our rigid training in the inflexible school of "No Compromise."

Certain it is that the most progressive elements of American labor were represented at the Cleveland Conference, and equally certain that these elements fairly represented the organized labor movement, with which, generally speaking, we have never heretofore been in vital touch, and without which the Socialist Party could never hope to develop its power or fulfill its mission.

After years and years of agitation and education the progressive forces of American labor arrived at this stage of their development. Here were its chosen representatives in convention assembled, proclaiming their purpose to sever their relations with the old capitalist parties and to organize their forces

for independent political action in the service of the toilers and producers of the nation, a situation of hope and promise the Socialist Party in the twenty-seven years of its pioneering and unceasing agitation and education had done more to bring about, in my humble opinion, than all other agencies combined.

And now, at this supreme juncture, this golden opportunity, to have refused to join issue with these gathering forces of liberation, after the many years of toil and tears, of sacrifice and martyrdom in setting them in operation, would have been the height of stupidity and folly and the depth of desertion and betrayal.

Of course the platform is not as we would have it, nor is Robert M. LaFollette a Socialist or a member of our party, but what of it in the light of the rich and abundant harvest that is certain to issue from the broadcast sowing of the seed of solidarity among the hitherto dissevered and enslaved producers of the land?

It is in no spirit of vanity or presumption that I declare a willingness to appeal to the shades of Marx, Engels and Leibknecht upon this vital issue, for were these Titans of emancipation still clothed in living flesh, I have the positive conviction they would have advised and approved the course taken by our delegates at this historic Cleveland Convention.

No fundamental principle of Socialism has been or will be in the least compromised. The autonomy of our party is absolutely inviolate and within our party our authority remains supreme. We carry forward our propaganda and promote our activities not only as before, but with a renewed and revitalized energy and enthusiasm inspired by this supreme opportunity, and more thrilling and sustaining than

ever before.

Though he is not a Socialist we need not blush or apologize to give our support to Robert M. LaFollette in the life-giving and hope-inspiring struggle of the present hour. All his life he has stood up like a man for the right according to his light; he has been shamefully maligned, ostracized and persecuted by the predatory powers of the plutocracy, yet his bitterest foe has never dared to question his personal integrity or his political rectitude.

The Cleveland Convention was fruitful of the most vital achievement and marks an epoch in American labor history. More important than its speeches and affirmations, more important than its platform and its candidates was its pledge to the American workers in mill and factory and mine, upon the railways, out on the farms, and in all their varied activities, that, following the election, their forces should be marshalled in battle array in their own political party, marching bravely in one conquering phalanx beneath their own proud banner to their destined goal—the emancipation of their own triumphant hosts and of all humanity.

The American Labor Party is in sight!

Hail its inspiring advent and speed the day of its glorious triumph!

The tocsin of battle sounds, and like Job's noble war-steed we smell the battle from afar and welcome the conflict with the enemies of labor and the despoilers of the people.

We stand for the peace and freedom and happiness of all humanity and our cause is certain to triumph in the end.

Forward, Comrades, with the courage of Conquerors to the Land of Light and the New Civilization!

The Enemy Opens Fire Upon The Workers—With Lies

By George R. Kirkpatrick.

The press of American plutocracy has obediently opened fire to damage with a deluge of lies the great nation-wide political forward movement of the common people launched last week at Cleveland. Right well the masters of the bread know that already many millions of America's common people are keen with interest and are expectantly waiting for every scrap of news pertaining to the great work started by the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action and the National Socialist Convention. The masters begin to see clearly that their challenge to the toilers of America has been accepted and that the recent week's work at Cleveland spells disaster to the old-time ways and means and plans for holding the common people under the galling yoke of industrial despotism.

Logically the plutocratic press attacks this new nation-rousing movement — with lies, malicious and malignant lies—and detestable misrepresentations. One of the first huge lies flashed over the nation to deceive the workers is malicious misrepresentation of Eugene V. Debs, National Chairman of the Socialist Party. A cunning story is presented on the first page of a leading Chicago paper with Debs's picture with headlines reiterating three times that Debs is delighted with the Democratic presidential nominee, Davis. This same misrepresentation is already in certain New York papers. And thus the prostitute press begins to belch its filth of malignant misrepresentation into the campaign.

Whatever Debs may think of Davis personally he knows Davis as a loyal representative of the

great financial house of J. P. Morgan and Company, and as a powerful attorney standing before the United States Supreme Court arguing with skill and cunning on the Coronado Coal Company's attack on the miners' union to the end that a decision might be had from that court which would enable the employers all over the land to destroy utterly the organized national and international labor bodies by making their treasuries good for all losses incurred by employers in consequence of strikes conducted anywhere by union labor. Debs knows just what this would have meant to organized labor. Debs marked the enthusiasm with which the Employers' Association took up the arguments set forth by the present Democratic presidential nominee, Davis. And Debs of all men would be the last to be "pleased with Mr. Davis's nomination for the presidency of the United States" — *Davis who would place in the hands of the employers a court decision that would spell swift and utter ruin to organized labor in this country.*

As soon as this shameless lie appeared the National Secretary got into direct communication with Debs and Dr. Holway, who has personal charge of Debs at the Lindlahr Sanitarium. From Debs

the National Secretary has a positive written statement that he has denied all and every request for interviews and communications during and since the Socialist Convention at Cleveland—except the reception of the Committee appointed by the Socialist Convention to wait upon Debs immediately following the Convention. And from Dr. Holway she has emphatic corroboration of Debs's affirmation that he has firmly declined all interviews with the exception just noted.

This will be one of the fiercest campaigns since the Civil War, and the workers of this land must be on guard; they can logically expect that by insinuation, misrepresentation and outright shameless lying the plutocratic press will obey its master and fill the air with dust and filth to the end that the workers' understanding of the men and women, and the issues, programs and purposes of the great new movement may be hindered to the utmost limit. Labor is indeed on the march in this country. The first agency for their betrayal will be the plutocratic press. Let the workers be warned, everywhere and warned daily that their deadliest enemy is the press that fills the air with malicious and confusing lies.

Declaration Of Principles Of The Socialist Party

The Socialist Party is the party of the workers. It urges the workers to take economic and political power away from the capitalist class, not to establish themselves as a new ruling class, but to abolish forever all class divisions and class rule.

America today is not owned by the American people. Our so-called national wealth is not the wealth of the nation but of the privileged few. These few are the rulers of America. They are few in number but they dominate the lives of their fellow men. They own our jobs and determine our wages; they control markets and fix prices; they own our homes and fix rents; they own our food and set its cost; they own the press; they own the government and make our laws; they own our schools and mould the people's minds. The Socialist Party of the United States demands that the country and its socially useable industrial wealth be redeemed from the control of private interests and turned over to the people to be administered for the benefit of all.

The Socialist Party advocates the establishment of a system of co-operative and publicly owned and managed warehouses, markets, and credits to promote direct dealing between farmers and city consumers at the cost of the service in their mutual interests. This will reduce the cost of living, will assure to the farmers a proper compensation for their labor, and will enable them to escape from the

twin curses of tenantry and mortgaged serfdom.

The socialization of industry, as Socialists conceive it, means more than is commonly understood in the term government ownership: it includes democratic administration through the elected and responsible representatives of the workers in the respective industries and of the people as a whole.

The bulk of the American people are workers of hand and brain; men and women who render useful service to the community in the countless ways of modern civilization. They produce the nation's wealth but live in constant dread of poverty. They feed and clothe the rich, yet bow to their alleged superiority. They keep alive the industries, but have no voice in their management. They constitute the majority and can right all these social wrongs whenever they learn to use the power of their numbers.

The ruling class and their retainers cannot be expected to change the iniquitous system of which they are the beneficiaries. The workers alone have a direct and compelling interest in abolishing that system.

To do this the workers must be united in a political party and use it to enact such measures as will immediately benefit the workers, raise their standard of life, increase their power, and stiffen their resistance to capitalist aggression; and ultimately

to transfer to the people ownership of large scale industries, beginning with those of a public character, such as banking, insurance, mining, transportation, communication, and the trustified industries, and extending the process as rapidly as conditions will permit, to the end that the exploitation of labor through rent, interest, and profit may finally be abolished.

The workers of town and country must be strongly organized on economic as well as on political lines. The ceaseless struggle of the labor unions and the constructive work of co-operative societies are absolutely necessary, not only for the immediate defence and betterment of the material and social condition of the producing classes, but also to equip them with the knowledge and the habit of self-discipline which they must have in order to administer efficiently the industries of which they are to win control.

It is the bounden duty of every Socialist wage-worker to be a loyal and active member of the union of his industry or trade, and to strive with all his power for the strengthening and solidification of the trade-union movement. It is the duty and the privilege of the Socialist Party and its press to aid the unions in all their struggles for better wages, increased leisure, and better conditions of employment.

The Socialist Party seeks to attain its end by orderly methods, and depends upon education and organization of the masses.

The Socialist Party stands for the mass of the American people. But its interest is not limited to

America alone. In modern civilization the destinies of all nations are inextricably interwoven. No nation can be prosperous, happy, and free while its neighbors are poor, miserable, and enslaved. The ties of international solidarity are particularly vital among the workers. In all advanced countries the working classes are engaged in an identical struggle for political and economic freedom, and the success or failure of each is reflected upon the fortunes of all.

The Socialist Party is opposed to militarism, imperialism, and war. Modern wars are caused by commercial and financial rivalries and intrigues of capitalist interests in different countries. They are made by the ruling classes and fought by the masses. They bring wealth and power to the privileged few and suffering, death, and desolation to the many. They cripple the struggles of the workers for political rights, material improvement and social justice, and tend to sever the bonds of solidarity between them and their brothers in other countries.

The Socialist movement is a world struggle in behalf of civilization. The Socialist Party co-operates with similar parties in other countries, and extends to them its full support in their struggles, confident that the workers all over the world will eventually secure the powers of government, abolish the oppression and chaos, the strife and bloodshed of international capitalism, and establish a federation of Socialist republics, co-operating with each other for the benefit of the human race, and for the maintenance of the peace of the world.

Report Of The Committee On Organization And Campaign Of The C. P. P. A.

Adopted by the Conference for Progressive Political Action in Cleveland, July 5, 1924.

Your Committee on Organization and Campaign recommends:

(1) That this Convention endorse the candidacy of Senator Robert M. LaFollette for President of the United States, upon the platform submitted by him and read to this Conference.

(2) That it authorize the incoming National Committee, in co-operation with the LaFollette-for-President committee, and on consultation with the Senator, to name a candidate for Vice-President of the United States.

(3) That the present National Committee shall be continued in office, with instructions to increase its membership to not less than fifty.

The members of the National Committee shall be as representative as possible of the various groups and geographical sections represented in this Con-

vention, and shall have the power to add to its numbers from time to time.

Your Committee recommends that the National Committee, if it deem it advisable, may change the location of the headquarters, and to establish branch offices in other places.

During the coming presidential campaign the National Committee shall function as the campaign committee of this body. It shall have the power to appoint a campaign manager and such clerical help, organizers and employees as shall in its opinion, be necessary, and to undertake such other actions as will insure the proper and efficient conduct of the campaign. It shall also have the power to choose officers and sub-committees, including an executive committee.

The National Committee shall also be charged

with the task of securing the nomination and election of U. S. Senators, Representatives in Congress, members of State Legislatures, and other state and local public officers who are pledged to the interests of the producing classes, and to the principles of genuine democracy in agriculture, industry and government, and shall as soon as practicable organize state and local campaign committees to conduct the campaign within their respective territories under the supervision and directions of the National Committee.

A meeting of the National Committee shall be held on Friday, July 18, 1924, at 10 o'clock A.M. at the headquarters of this organization, and each meeting of the committee shall fix the date and place of the succeeding meeting.

(4) That on the 29th of November, 1924, the National Committee shall meet and issue a call for a special National Convention to be held in the

latter part of the month of January, 1925, at such place and such definite date as the committee may decide.

The object of the Convention shall be to consider and pass upon the questions of forming a permanent independent political party for national and local elections upon the basis of the general principles laid down in the platform adopted by this Convention and for the transaction of such other business as may come before the Convention.

The basis of representation and voting at the Convention shall be the same as adopted at the St. Louis meeting of the Conference for Progressive Political Action for the Cleveland Convention of July, 1924.

Minutes Of The National Convention, Socialist Party

Cleveland, Ohio, Sunday, July 6, 1924.

MORNING SESSION

Convention called to order at 10:30 A. M. by National Secretary Bertha Hale White. The following delegates answered to roll call:

California — Cameron H. King, Alexander Horr, Walter Thomas Mills, Lena Morrow Lewis.

Connecticut — Louis Krahll, Mrs. Louis Krahll, Walter E. Davis, Wm. Cahil.

District of Columbia — Marx Lewis.

Illinois — Tilden Bozarth, Katherine Claus, John Collins, Wm. A. Cunnea, George Koop, Morris Siskind, W. R. Snow, John T. Whitlock, Dave Woodhouse, Swan Johnson, John Frank Danis.

Indiana — Emma Henry, Wm. H. Henry, Severino Pollo, Wm. Fogelson.

Kentucky — John Thobe.

Maryland — S. M. Neistadt, Wm. A. Toole, James L. Smiley.

Michigan — M. Wagman, Louis Wise.

Minnesota — Lynn Thompson, D. Shier, A. B. Bastis.

Missouri — W. L. Garver, W. M. Brandt, G. A. Hoehn, B. Cohen.

New Jersey — Leo M. Harkins, George H. Goebel, Mrs. Charlotte Bohlin, George Bauer, Herman Niessner, Alfred Altert, James B. Furber.

New York — May Harris Mainland, Charles Solomon, Morris Hillquit, Algernon Lee, Aug-

ust Claessens, William Karlin, Jacob Panken, Morris Berman, Jos. D. Cannon, Julius Gerber, Louis Waldman, Harriot Stanton Blatch, Alexander Kahn, (Alt.), S. John Block, Simon Berlin, James Oneal, A. I. Shiplacoff, J. A. Whitehorn, W. W. Passage, Joseph F. Viola, Jacob Bernstein, Henry Feuer, Patrick J. Murphy, Joseph Kooperman, Edw. H. MacDonald (Alt.), Herbert M. Merrill, Warren Atkinson, Irving M. Weiss, Ray Newkirk, Edwin D. Ladd.

North Carolina — M. E. Edson.

Ohio — Joseph W. Sharts, Oscar K. Edelman, John G. Willert, Joseph Martinek, Anna Kiel, Nick Weltlich, John Ojala, Thomas C. Devine, J. H. Bjorn, Theodore Johnson.

Oklahoma — O. E. Enfield, (Alt.).

Pennsylvania — William Adams, J. Aulenbach, Cora Bixler, Josepr E. Cohen, Harry Eckard, Darlington Hoopes, H. Levine, Alfred Baker Lewis, P. A. McGowan, Charles Sehl, Frank Silvis, Geo. W. Snyder, Sidney Stark, J. Henry Stump, Wm. J. Van Essen, Anna Van Essen, George Weinstein, John Weisberg and Louis Zeff, (one-half vote each), Julius Weisberg.

West Virginia — I. G. Miller.

Texas — Robert M. Young, C. T. Stopper.

Wisconsin — John Bauernfeind, Victor L. Berger, William Coleman, Dr. Karl L. DeSombre, Mrs. Pauline Deuss, Thomas M. Duncan,

Paul Gauer, H. M. Seidelman (Alt.), Daniel W. Hoan, Herman O. Kent, Edmund T. Melms, Henry Ohl (Alt.), Leo Kryzycki, (Alt.), Joseph A. Padway, William F. Quick, Charles C. Schad, William F. Schultz, J. J. Handley (Alt.), John Doerfler, Jr. (Alt.), Arthur Shutkin, Henry Sievenhaar, Aaron Rosenthal (Alt.), Herman Tucker, Ernest Untermann, S. Ziebelman, Mrs. Victor L. Berger (Alt.).

New England States Organization District. — A. J. Parker.

Massachusetts — Geo. E. Roewer, Jr., Helena Turitz, Albert Sprague Coolidge.

Rhode Island — Peter Marcus.

Mountain States Organization District. — O. A. Kennedy.

Northwestern States Organization District. — Emil Herman, F. M. Dwyer.

Young People's Socialist League. — Albert Weisbord, Oscar Albrecht, Harry Bordman, Morris Novick.

Bohemian Federation — Alois Kostka.

Finnish Federation — W. N. Reivo.

Italian Federation — James Battistoni, Girolamo Valenti.

Jewish Federation. — David Shub, H. Lang, Nathan Chanin.

Jugo-Slav Federation — Frank Zaitz, Charles Pogorelec, Andrew Sogatay.

Delegate Hoan of Milwaukee was elected Chairman, and Delegate King of California Vice-Chairman. Leo M. Harkins of New Jersey elected secretary of the convention, Elizabeth Goldstein of New York assistant secretary.

Telegrams of greetings were read from the Y. P. S. L. of Milwaukee, from Otto Branstetter, and from the state organization of Idaho. The Convention voted to send greetings to Comrade Branstetter and to Comrade Debs.

Toole of Maryland was elected Sergeant-at-Arms.

Nominations for the Committee on Contested Seats: Bohlin of New Jersey; Melms of Wisconsin; Kooperman of New York; Roewer of Massachusetts; Herman of Washington; Snow of Illinois; Horr of California. Declinations: Garver, King and Cohen.

Nominations for Committee on Constitution: Doerfler of Wisconsin; Sehl of Pennsylvania, Brandt of Missouri; Weiss of New York; Waldman of New York; Quick of Wis.; Stewart of Michigan; King of California. Declination: Sharts of Ohio.

The following were nominated on the committee to formulate the Report on the Relations Between the Socialist Party and the Conference for Pro-

gressive Political Action:

Lewis of Cal., Hoehn of Mo., Panken of N. Y., Hillquit of N. Y., Berger of Wis., Solomon of N. Y., Harkins of N. J., Oneal of N. Y., Roewer of Mass., Block of N. Y., Herman of Wash., Stump of Pa., Collins of Ill., Young of Texas, Passage of N. Y., Miller of W. Va., Toole of Md., Stewart of Mich., Goebel of N. J., Thobe of Ky., Snow of Ill., Davis of Conn., Enfield of Okla. Declinations: Solomon, Oneal, Lee, Block, Young, Passage and Toole.

By motion it was decided that above committee consist of fifteen members, and not more than two from each state.

The following were nominated for the Committee on Resolutions: Solomon of N. Y., Furber of N. J., Untermann of Wis., Thompson of Minn., Lee of N. Y., Hillquit and Passage of N. Y., Lewis of Pa., Mills of Cal., Kiel of Ohio, Carver of Mo., Block of New York, Seskind of Ill., Atkinson of N. Y. Declinations: Hillquit, Block and Seskind.

Following were nominated for Committee on Organization and Finance: Viola of N. Y., Karlin of N. Y., Coleman of Wis., Van Essen of Pa., Kent of Wis., Berman of N. Y., Edson of N. C., Devine of Ohio, Snyder of Pa., Weisbord of Mass., Feuer of N. Y., Newland of Ind., Krahll of Pa., Whitlock of Ill., Weiss of Mich., Neistadt of Md., Kryzycki of Wis., Emma Henry of Ind., Merrill of N. Y. Declinations: Coleman, Kent, Berman, Edson, Feuer, Krahll, Merrill.

Upon motion, Ray Newkirk and Edwin D. Ladd of N. Y. were seated as delegates.

The following committee on Economic Organization, consisting of seven members were elected by acclamation: Coleman of Wis., Seskind of Ill., Wagman of Mich., Cannon of N. Y., Melms of Wis., Martinek of Ohio, and Horr of Cal.

By motion, the chairman was authorized to appoint a committee of three on Y. P. S. L. organization.

The convention voted that the rules by which it shall be governed shall be as stated on page 11 of the June issue of the Socialist World.

Voted that the Committee of Fifteen bring in its report not later than Monday morning, and that just as soon as the report is ready that it be taken up immediately.

Motion expressing thanks and appreciation of the convention for the untiring effort and careful arrangements made by the Cleveland members for the conduct of the convention, especially the comrades of the Jewish Daily Forward, and in particular Comrades Weinstein and Hanford of the Convention Arrangements Committee, adopted unanimously.

Snow of Illinois reported for the Committee on

Contested Seats. Report accepted.

The following were elected as the Resolutions Committee: Lee of New York, Mills of Cal., Unterman of Wis., Lewis of Pa., and Solomon of New York.

The following were elected the Committee on Organization and Finance: Van Essen of Pa., Krzycki of Wis., Karlin of N. Y., Weisbord of Mass., Devine of Ohio.

The following were appointed as the Press Committee: Duncan of Wis., Kirkpatrick of Ill., and Wilson of Pa.

The following fifteen delegates were elected as the Committee on Relations with the C. P. P. A.:

Hillquit of N. Y. (115); King of Cal. (110); Berger of Wis. (107); Hoehn of Mo. (91); Cohen of Pa. (88); Lewis of Cal. (80); Roewer of Mass. (80); Sharts of Ohio (79); Harkins of N. J. (77); Goebel of N. J. (76); Henry of Ind. (73); Duncan of Wis. (74); Oneal of N. Y. (73); Herman of Wash. (61); Collins of Ill. (60).

MORNING SESSION

July 7, 1924

Convention called to order at 10:10 A. M. by Daniel Hoan, Chairman of the previous day. Lee of New York was elected Chairman and King of California Vice-Chairman.

By recommendation of the National Executive Committee, Roland A. Gibson, President of the Dartmouth College Club for Progressive Political Action, was seated as a fraternal delegate with a voice but no vote.

Telegrams of greetings were read from the Secretary of Branch No. 15 of the Workmen's Circle of Hartford, Conn., and from the 6th A.D. of the Socialist Party, Kings County, New York.

Delegate Cannon, of New York, for the Committee on Economic organization, submitted resolution.

Moved by Delegate Cannon that the resolution of the committee as read be adopted.

Amendment offered by Delegate Waldman to insert two words in the fifth line of the second paragraph so that the statement instead of reading "unionism is the one institution on which they can depend," will read, "unionism is one of the institutions."

The amendment was carried by a vote of 78 to 30.

Delegate Solomon of New York, for the Committee on Platform and Resolutions, read draft of the Declaration of Principles of the Socialist Party.

Moved to adopt report of the committee, but to send it back for improvement as to style.

Delegate Mills of California continued report of

the Committee on Resolutions, offering the following resolution:

"Resolved, that the Socialist Party reaffirms its repeated and insistent demand that there shall be granted by our government official recognition of the Russian Government and the maintenance of the same friendly diplomatic and commercial relations as we now maintain with the most favored nations."

On motion the resolution was adopted.

Roberto Haberman, fraternal delegate from the Mexican Labor Party, upon invitation of the Convention, addressed the delegates, bringing greetings from the Mexican Labor movement, and outlining the progress of the labor movement in Mexico, and announcing the election on the previous day in Mexico of a labor and Socialist president.

Upon motion of Delegate Lewis of California, the convention voted to send congratulations to the Mexican Labor Party for the election of Calles, labor president, and an expression of sorrow for the execution of Carrillo. This motion was unanimously carried.

Tribute was paid by Delegate Mills of California to the services rendered by the Mexican Labor Movement to the American Labor movement, and mentioned especially the valuable work of Brother Kelley of the Machinists' Union.

The National Secretary reported that the Missouri delegation had decided to donate to the National Office their delegates' expenses amounting to \$121.24.

Delegate Waldman of New York, reporting for the Committee on Constitution, recommended the adoption of the constitution of 1922, with following amendments: Section 1, Article 2, to read: "Political action within the meaning of this section is participation in elections for public offices and practical legislation for administration work along the line of the Socialist Party Platform, to gain control of the powers of government to the end that the capitalist system be abolished and the Co-operative Commonwealth be substituted: This amendment carried. Section 2, Article 2: Action on amendment proposed laid over.

King of California, for the Majority Report of the Committee of Fifteen, took the floor and read the following and moved its adoption:

(See Resolution on Relations to the Conference for Progressive Political Action on page 1).

Snow of Illinois, for the Minority Report of same committee, submitted report, moving its adoption:

MINORITY REPORT

OF THE COMMITTEE OF 15 ON RELATIONS WITH THE C. P. P. A.

Preamble

The Conference for Progressive Political Action

which has just adjourned in Cleveland in spite of its significance as a gathering of progressive and labor forces, has failed to launch an independent Party of Labor, or even an independent third party; but is rather the crystallization of the vague sentiment of unrest around the personality of one man, and that man a life long republican, who has never attacked the fundamental foundations of capitalist society, viz.—the private ownership of the tools and instruments of production and distribution and its consequent division of society into two distinct economic classes,—the greatest single fact that exists in the social relations of mankind today.

The Socialist Party is willing today as it has always been to work for the upbuilding of a strong political party representing the useful producing classes. But we cannot submerge our identity and lose all we have gained in forty years of painful effort that has meant the self-sacrifice of thousands of workers for some hazy, indefinite promise that seven months from now a labor party may be formed, or sign a blank check for a vice-presidential nominee not yet named.

Neither can we subscribe to a platform so delightfully vague and indefinite as to the fundamental causes of social injustice, that any forward looking exploiter of labor, democrat or republican could subscribe to. A platform so meaningless that it might have been written by W. J. Bryan thirty years ago. Shall we look forward to the future or back to the past for inspiration? Shall we surrender ourselves to forces that can well wipe out the last vestige of an organized Socialist movement for many years to come?

In order to preserve the identity and usefulness of the Socialist Party and the Socialist Movement and make possible its usefulness in the future battles of labor,

We, the Minority Committee, recommend:

(1) That this 1924 convention of the Socialist Party proceed to nominate its own candidates for president and vice-president of the United States.

(2) That we proceed to conduct our own campaign on a platform and with a program that states distinctly the fundamental problems that confront modern society.

Fraternally submitted,
Wm. H. Henry
W. R. Snow

Committee.

Further discussion on these reports was deferred until after the noon recess.

Convention adjourned at one o'clock, to reconvene at 2.

AFTERNOON SESSION,

July 7th, 1924.

Convention called to order by Chairman Lee at

2:15 P. M.

Delegate Solomon of New York offered the following resolutions of greetings to be sent to Ramsay MacDonald and to the Socialist Party of France:

"Ramsay MacDonald:

The Socialist Party of the United States, in national convention assembled, sends its fraternal greetings to you and through you to the labor movement of the British Isles. We hail the rise to power of British labor not only for what it means to the workers of the British Isle but because of its significance for world peace and the international Socialist and labor movement."

"To the Socialist Party of France:

The Socialist Party of the United States, in national convention assembled, sends its fraternal greetings to you and acclaims your recent victories as an outstanding augury for the early establishment of an enduring world peace and an inspiration to Socialists everywhere."

On motion of Waldman of New York, Abraham Cahan of Jewish Daily Forward was seated as a delegate with voice and no vote.

With the consent of the Minority Committee, the rules governing the discussion on the adoption of the minority or majority report, or substitute, were amended to give the spokesmen of the Minority and Majority reports fifteen minutes each to open the discussion, fifteen minutes to close the discussion; and that for the other speakers the five minute rule prevail.

Delegate King made the opening address on behalf of the Majority Report.

Delegate Snow made the opening address on behalf of the Minority Report.

Delegate Panken offered the following substitute for the whole:

Proposition by Delegate Panken

The main practical object of the Socialist Party is the organization of the workers into a political class party. With that supreme object in view the party has always encouraged and supported every genuine movement of labor toward independent politics. The Conference for Progressive Political Action was organized with the assistance of the Socialist Party, and our party co-operated with its work and development.

Our co-operation with the forces of the Conference for Progressive Political Action has already resulted in much good, and during the campaign can, in our opinion, vastly facilitate the formation of a genuine labor party next January. The Socialist Party with its political training and experience, its clear social vision and ideal, and its devoted membership will be called upon to give the new movement substance and direction, and to play

in it a part as important as that which our sister party in England plays in the political labor movement of that country.

The integrity of the Socialist Party must be preserved, and its membership and activities increased, not only for the good of the Socialist movement as such, but also for the character, growth and success of the political labor movement of the country.

The convention specifically declares that the Socialist Party firmly adheres to the principles of Socialism as set forth in the Platform and Declaration of Principles adopted at this and previous conventions of the Socialist Party.

Resolved, that the incoming National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party meet on the 20th day of July, 1924, at a place to be fixed by the National Executive Committee.

That the Committee is instructed to endorse the candidates for president and vice-president of the Committee for Progressive Political Action, provided the candidate for vice-president is not also the candidate of either the Democratic or Republican party and is satisfactory to the National Executive Committee.

That the Committee is instructed in the event it will not be able to endorse the national ticket of the Committee for Progressive Political Action to cause a call to be issued for a conference of representatives of the Socialist Party state organizations.

That for that purpose each state delegation represented in this convention is required to designate a representative of the state to act in such event.

That the Socialist Party request an increased representation on the enlarged National Committee of the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

That in the coming campaign the Socialist Party co-operate whole-heartedly with the Conference for Progressive Political Action in the national election and in all such state and local elections in which independent labor and farmer candidates are nominated with the co-operation of the state and local Socialist Party organizations.

That the Socialist Party send a full representation to the convention to be held in January, 1925, for the purpose of considering the formation of a permanent and independent new party and do everything in its power to make that convention as large, representative and successful as possible.

The representatives of the Socialist Party to the January convention of 1925 are hereby instructed to vote and work for the formation of a party separate and distinct from and opposed to the Republican, Democratic and other capitalist parties, to be composed of economic organization of labor, working farmers, the Socialist Party, and other advanced groups, with complete national, state and

local form of organization and upon a platform containing as a minimum the planks of the platform adopted by the convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action held in Cleveland, July, 1924.

National Secretary White read the following telegram from Eugene V. Debs:

Elmhurst, Ill.,
July 7, 1924.

Bertha Hale White,
Hotel Winton,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Love and greetings to our delegates. Answering your inquiry, I hesitate at this distance to intrude upon your deliberations, especially as I have full faith in the loyalty and judgment of our delegates, and shall willingly abide by the action of our convention. I think it wise for our party to make no nominations under the circumstances but at the same time to hold the Socialist Party intact, adhere rigidly to its principles and keep the red flag flying. I hope above all there will be no division but that all will unite loyally in carrying out the program adopted by the convention. I need not assure you that my heart is with you. In this crisis, as in the past, the Socialist Party is the party of the working class and faces the future with absolute confidence and without fear.

Yours for Socialism,
(Signed) Eugene V. Debs.

The discussion lasted for several hours, after which Delegate Henry made the closing argument for the Minority Report, Delegate Hillquit for the Majority Report, and a vote was taken.

Substitute by Delegate Panken lost. Roll call showed 113 in favor of the Majority Report, and 19 for the Minority.

Schad of Wisconsin moved to make the Majority Report unanimous. Stark of Pennsylvania objected, whereupon Delegate Schad and one other changed their votes making the final total 115 in favor of the Majority Report and 17 for the Minority Report.

Delegate Mainland of New York cast her vote for the Majority Report but wished it understood that she did so to prevent a division and in the interest of harmony.

Delegate Herman of Washington, when casting his vote for the Majority Report, said: "In casting my vote for the Majority Report I wish to say that I do so merely because I realize that nothing else can be done under the circumstances without severing our connection with the Conference for Progressive Political Action, and that we cannot afford to do."

The convention adjourned at 7:50, to meet Tuesday morning at 10 o'clock.

MORNING SESSION

July 8, 1924.

Convention was called to order at 10:30 A. M. by Chairman Lee.

Emma Henry of Indiana was elected Chairman for the day; Van Essen of Pa., Vice-Chairman.

On motion the Convention voted to seat Marie MacDonald of New York in place of Feuer of New York; Novick of New York instead of Blatch of New York; Wilson of Pa. instead of Siegel of Pa.; and Mrs. Krahll of Connecticut instead of Cahill of Conn.

Delegate Goebel of New Jersey moved that the rules be suspended so that the nomination and election of members of the National Executive Committee take place at 11:15 o'clock. Motion carried.

Delegate Waldman, for the Constitution Committee, continued report.

The amendments offered by the Constitution Committee, which were adopted, also amendments offered by delegates from the floor, are on separate list attached hereto.

At 11:15 all other business was suspended and the Convention proceeded with the election of members of the National Executive Committee.

The following were nominated for membership on the N. E. C.:

Stump of Pa., Hillquit of New York, Henry of Indiana, Berger of Wis., Brandt of Mo., Collins of Ill., Harkins of New Jersey, Wilson of Pa., Lewis of Cal., Melms of Wis., Roewer of Mass., Maurer of Pa. While the ballots were being counted, the convention proceeded with unfinished business.

The following amendment offered by Hillquit to the Constitution was passed by acclamation:

Sec. 12, Article 7. "The Convention shall elect a National Chairman of the Party, whose powers and duties shall be as provided by law. He shall be a member Ex-officio of the National Executive Committee.

Roewer of Mass. offered the following resolution and moved its adoption: "That this Convention delegate Bertha Hale White, James Oneal and Joseph E. Cohen, to wait upon Comrade Eugene V. Debs, and to express to him the regret of the Convention at his inability to be with us on this momentous occasion and to convey to him the affectionate greetings of his comrades in the Socialist Party."

Motion was carried that the question be divided, so that convention first vote on the election of a committee, and then elect the personnel. This motion to divide the question carried.

The motion to elect a committee carried.

Discussion. Delegate Cohen stated he could not accept.

The Convention elected James Oneal, Bertha Hale White, and William Henry to constitute the committee.

Delegate Waldman, for the Constitution Committee, continued report.

Comrade Claessens, for the Tellers Committee, reported the following, on votes cast for members of the National Executive Committee:

121 ballots were cast, 61 being necessary for election. The votes as cast were as follows: Hillquit 110; Maurer 108; Berger 88; Collins 77; Roewer 72; Harkins 62; Sharts 55; Henry 54; Brandt 49; Oneal 48; Melms 28; Stump 27; Lewis 24; Kahn 21; Wilson 15; Lee 2; Hoehn 1; Coleman 1; and Karlin 1.

Since only six nominees received the required number of votes for election, a second ballot was taken, resulting as follows:

105 votes cast, 53 votes required: Sharts 28; Oneal 23; Henry 19; Lewis 11; Brandt 11; Melms 8; Wilson 2; Stump 2; Kahn 1.

A motion was carried to take another ballot upon all those candidates originally failing of election, and if then no one is elected, the two delegates receiving the highest number of votes shall be the nominees.

The third ballot showed the following results:

98 votes cast, majority required 50.

Henry 33; Sharts 23; Oneal 16; Lewis 13; Brandt 9; Melms 3; Stump 1.

On the fourth ballot the result obtained was as follows:

94 ballots cast; 47 ballots required: Sharts 49; Henry 45. Sharts elected.

Convention adjourned for lunch at one o'clock to reconvene at 2.

AFTERNOON SESSION

July 8, 1924.

Convention called to order at 3:15, by Chairman Emma Henry.

Telegrams of greetings were read from the Y. P.S.L. of New York and from the International Pocketbook Workers' Union.

Delegate Friedman, alternate from New York, seated as delegate.

Delegate Weisbord for the Y.P.S.L. Committee offered resolution which was carried.

Delegate Karlin for the Committee on Organization and Finance continued his report. An amendment to this report was offered by Viola of New York, instructing the N. E. C. to engage European international Socialist leaders for an organization and propaganda tour. The committee's report as amended was carried.

Mills of California read a telegram from Mahoney of the Farmer-Labor Party.

Delegates Lee of New York, Lewis of Pa., Untermann of Wis., Mills of California, all took the floor for the Resolutions Committee, and offered the resolutions attached hereto, all of which carried.

The resolution on the Ku Klux Klan introduced by Comrade Lee was opposed by Goebel of New Jersey, precipitating a heated discussion lasting for several hours. Goebel offered a substitute which, upon a vote, was favored by 19 delegates and opposed by 53.

Lee's resolution was finally adopted by a vote of 58 against 15.

Delegate Hillquit moved that the incoming National Executive Committee prepare a leaflet dealing with the issue of the Ku Klux Klan. Hillquit's motion carried.

Delegate Roewer of Mass. moved that the unfinished business of this convention be referred to the

incoming National Executive Committee, including the statement to the party membership of the Committee of Fifteen on Relations with the C. P. P. A. Motion carried.

Upon suggestions of Comrade MacDonald of New York and King of California, it was moved that the committee elected to visit Debs should also visit Otto Branstetter. This motion carried unanimously.

Vote of thanks was extended to Comrade Berger for his work in Congress, and a motion was adopted that a report of his work in Congress be sent to the Socialist press.

Comrade King of California made a farewell address, and the meeting then adjourned sine die.

Elizabeth Goldstein,
Assistant Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION AND FINANCE

That the incoming National Executive Committee be instructed to prepare and commence at the earliest possible date an extensive campaign throughout the country. The plans for this campaign shall provide for new propaganda and organization literature, and special work among the various elements of the population in conformity with the new alignments made by the party at this convention.

That State, County, and Local organizations be directed to organize conference which shall consist of representatives of labor unions, farmers, co-operative, and educational organizations, La Follette clubs, and all other sympathetic organizations. Such conferences shall create campaign committees for the purpose of carrying on the executive work of the campaign for the presidential ticket. Such conferences shall be initiated wherever possible by Socialist organizations.

Large social affairs and other enterprises shall be undertaken for the purpose of aiding the campaign fund, and always with a view to attracting the sympathetic elements to participate in the same.

That national campaign lists be prepared and mailed to all constituent organizations, members, and sympathizers, and that all monies collected on same be divided as follows: 50% to the local organization in which the money is obtained; 40% to the National Office; 10% to the State or District Organizations.

That a campaign manager be immediately put in charge of the work of the campaign, and that campaign organizers be sent to the various unorganized fields for the purpose of placing the national,

state, and Congressional tickets in the field. That additional representatives be sent to the unorganized fields for the purpose of initiating conferences and raising funds for the campaign.

That immediately prior to the commencement of operations in a given territory, advertisements and other publicity matter be placed in the local papers. That the services of an expert be obtained for the purpose of preparing advertising copy to be used in various parts of the country for insertion in local papers. That the party obtain the services of a publicity manager who shall prepare material from time to time to be used by the various campaign managers throughout the country, and that a mat service be instituted for the distribution of publicity matter including suitable cartoons.

That a pamphlet be prepared containing all the general talking points pertaining to the immediate issues as contained in the platforms of the Conference for Progressive Political Action and of the Socialist Party, accompanied by a collection of material facts and statistics pertaining to the same issues. This pamphlet is to be used by speakers and canvassers who are to be instructed to discuss the immediate issues as outlined in the talking points, and to keep away from discussing other matters as far as possible during the campaign.

That the organizers, speakers, and canvassers officially designated by the Party in its locals and branches be furnished from time to time during the campaign with talking points relating to the immediate issues of the campaign, and that they be instructed in the ways and means of improving the

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BERTHA HALE WHITE Bus. Mgr.

Party organization, and increasing the membership by drawing from the various elements that may be attracted during the coming campaign such persons as are available for our membership.

That a booklet be prepared outlining the immediate issues, for general distribution throughout the country. That suitable leaflets be prepared for general distribution, and also such as shall contain suitable material for unorganized territories in accordance with the conditions of the immediate locality.

That the Party organizers emphasize in all Socialist centers the importance of keeping up the integrity of the Socialist Party while participating in the general movement.

That the National Office prepare suitable Party slogans and emblems upon buttons, badges, banners and posters. Unique designs may be copyrighted for the purpose of deriving an income to increase the campaign fund.

That if possible a Socialist of prominence broadcast by radio from time to time appeals for funds. That the Socialist platform and speeches of the most prominent candidates be broadcasted by radio as frequently as the finances of the Party will permit.

That the national campaign managers and committees co-operate with the state and local organizations as far as possible in issuing local papers, at least during the campaign for the purpose of spreading news in favor of our platform and candidates.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

EUGENE V. DEBS, National Chairman,
Terre Haute, Ind.

BERTHA HALE WHITE, Executive Secretary,
2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Victor L. Berger, 980 First St., Milwaukee, Wis.
John M. Collins, 839 N. St. Louis Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Leo M. Harkins, 1325 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Morris Hillquit, 19 West 44th St., New York City, N. Y.
James H. Maurer, 430 North St., Harrisburg, Pa.
Geo. E. Roewer, Jr., 20 Pemberton Sq., Boston, Mass.
Joseph W. Sharts, 805 Commercial Bldg., Dayton, Ohio.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY

Morris Hillquit, 19 West 44th St., New York City, N. Y.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S DEPARTMENT

Albert. Weisbord, National Director,
64 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.

NEW LEAFLETS

THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES and the PLATFORM will each be issued as a leaflet, smaller size; prepaid, 25 cents per 100; \$2.00 per 1,000; 5,000 or more \$1.75 per 1,000. CHEATED is the title of the next big illustrated leaflet (by George R. Kirkpatrick). This leaflet will have a really powerful picture, a stunner. It will enable the unemployed toilers to realize just how *disastrously* they are cheated; how the courts, jails, bayonets and machine guns are ready to cut them down if they DARE TO DEMAND the right to work,—which they can never have under the wage-system. This leaflet is a genuine red-hot. 50 cents per 100; \$5.00 per 1,000; \$20.00 for 5,000.

ALL NOW ON THE PRESS. OPEN FIRE!

FREE YOUTH

By Meyer Halushka

A real achievement of the radical youth of America is the June-July number of the Free Youth Magazine. Its 32 pages are filled with writings of men and women prominent in the Socialist and Labor movement. There is a critical survey and analysis of "British Labor's Rise to Power" by Charles Solomon, former New York Assemblyman. An article on the meaning of Socialism by William M. Feigenbaum, Asst. Editor of The New Leader. There is a review of shortcomings and fallacies of the recent political conventions by Samuel H. Friedman, one of the editors of Free Youth.

A commendable feature of the publication is the varied and numerous departments, such as: The Theatre, containing reviews of current dramatic productions; The Bookshelf, consisting of reviews of modern books; Swinging Around the Circle, embracing reports of Yipsel club activities.

The issue also contains an account of the life of Ben Harford, and a reprint of the well known Socialist classic, "Jimmie Higgins."

No Socialist should deprive his children or himself of the opportunity of reading this splendid periodical. It is the only monthly magazine for the youth devoted to the cause of the Labor and Socialist movement. Change your children from Henry Dubb Juniors to Jimmie Higgins Juniors by sending one dollar for one year's subscription to Free Youth, People House, 7 East 15th St., New York, N. Y.